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A Voice from the South,

DISCUSSING, AMONG OTHER SUBJECTS,

Slavery, and its Remedy,

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO

ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE, D. D.

OF KENTUCKY,

BY LENNOX BIRCKHEAD, M. D.

"And man whose heaven erected face,
The smiles of love adorn,
Man's inhumanity to man,
Makes countless thousands mourn!"

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Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge,

Kentucky.

Dear Sir,

The object in connecting your name with this little production is not merely to attract public interest nor to express the author's high regard; but to more particularly invite your earnest attention and aid in forwarding the great results it contemplates, particularly as regards slavery. Our revolutionary fathers, fresh from a bloody contest for the inalienable rights of man, spurning all outside influences, regarding African slavery in its simplicity and unsophisticated truth, under the prompting of an instinctive sense of justice, the spirit of christianity, the dictates of reason and humanity, naturally lamented the moral and political inconsistency of perpetuating the institution of slavery. Most of the wise and good men of that day, acknowledged slavery "a great moral, social and political evil." Whilst bearing their solemn testimony against it they felt constrained to leave the serious questions it involved to be solved by posterity and the sad consequences which loomed up so impressively before the imagination of Patrick Henry, to whose prophetic vision "coming events cast their shadows before," are now upon us in all their sad reality. According to men's locality and training, opposite views are taken of the morality and wisdom of the institution. No matter on which side the truth lies, all must agree that it is necessarily a great progressive national evil, which has already attained an appaling importance. Unhappily whenever man's feelings and interest must be affected by his avowed opinions human nature will create a difficulty in reaching the truth. If our people could be induced, under a due sense of responsibility to God, laying aside all anger, malice and evil speaking, honestly to examine this subject, this momentous question would be ration-

ally and amicably settled, for the decision rests upon propositions susceptible of settlement by the plainest understanding.

The North and the South are both right, yet they are decidedly both wrong. The North, regarding the subject in the abstract, is right; regarding it politically, wrong. The South, regarding it in the abstract, is wrong; but regarding it politically, in a certain sense, is right; and both are wrong, not having taken wise measures to palliate or remove so great an evil.

I have ventured to suggest a remedy both palliative and radical, but it will require far more force and influence than I possess even to initiate such a work. In looking through our broad land, I know of no one so peculiarly suited, practically, to patronize so patriotic and philanthropic an enterprise. A Southern gentleman by birth, feelings and habit, standing before the community a calm, upright, fearless, public spirited man, free from all unduly controling, political or sectional, feeling, pledged to truth and virtue only; by your vocation a servant of Christ and a friend to mankind. Will you then hold in your strong hand the entering wedge? Depend upon it there will come many an unlooked for sturdy blow, now idle for want of an aim, to drive home the wedge. History assures us where a great political evil exists, mankind only want the proper leader to make the assault. When Luther stepped forth to war against Papist abuses thousands were ready to respond. How many at this moment, North and South, only wait such another intrepid leader.

Respectfully,

LENNOX BIRCKHEAD.

APPENDIX.

So much perplexity clouds every aspect of American Slavery, it involves such serious questions affecting us in our moral, social and political relations, that there is naturally a morbid sensibility in the national mind which shrinks from all moral, philosophical or political examination; but as all the great and best men of the South unbiased by the lust for wealth, or the lust for power or pride of party, have ever united with the general sentiment of mankind in its condemnation as a "great moral, social and political evil," surely as patriots, as reasonable men responsible to a great future tribunal, we are called upon to honestly and bravely look the momentous question in the face. Indeed the question has become so mixed up with pecuniary, party, political, and religious considerations, so long viewed through a contracted theology, or an undiscriminating false philanthropy, that we should not wonder to find the public mind confused, disgusted and disinclined patiently, calmly, and candidly to examine the matter, neither in its abstract simplicity nor in the complications of its modified character as a political institution; yet, to reconcile difficulties, relieve conscience, reach just conclusions, a proper sense of duty and act wisely, this is essential, for there is all the difference of light and darkness between abstract slavery and slavery as a political institution. Injustice and oppression constitute the one, upon the other rests the protection and safety of the African; upon the one the gross assumption, teeming with injustice, abuses and immorality, that the slave is a mere transferable chattel and also the authority, irrespective of all social necessity, to perpetuate the institution; upon the other the only hope for a bettered condition of the negro.

If the abolitionist in his blind impulsive course, regardless of the spirit and scope of Holy Writ, or the suggestions of reason, has done mischief in their virtuous zeal to counteract the mad-

ness and wickedness of abolitionism, good men have been carried beyond the necessities of the case, beyond the legitimate grounds of defence, have passed through the enemy to a friendly province, have brought into conflict divine precepts and divine teachings, have boldly assailed the inalienable rights of man, fraternized with wrong and oppression, have overlooked the origin of human and confounded natural and political rights, given man a positive, absolute and inherent right of property in his fellow; thus, in their turn, have they become vulnerable to the shafts of truth and virtue, and call upon us to fall back upon first principles to counteract error.

The full, thorough examination of the question, in all its important bearings, requires it to be made primarily a question of morality, otherwise we will find great difficulty in arriving at our duty, in reaching or correcting abuses and applying radical remedies, for, entrenched behind even a false theology and an assumed or conventional morality, men will not care to change their long cherished opinions or habits, however questionable their character.

God in His precepts has given a standard of right and wrong, in our moral sense the ability to distinguish right from wrong, and in His teachings He has taught the application of His precepts under all the varying circumstances of life; man is a probationer personally responsible to his Creator, or he is not; he is a free agent, or he is not. Slavery is either morally wrong or it is not, the affirmative of these questions is declaratory of a distinction between right and wrong and of a divinely given standard to test the character of human conduct.

God is the original sole proprietor of man, and unless delegated by Him no human right can ever exist in one man over another without a voluntary surrender. A human right is the authority to act, directly or mediately coming from God, the only source, it is either natural or social; slavery is either practically the abnegation or abrogation of human rights, and is either personal or political. God, by the nature given to man, instituted society, which necessarily implies the authority to preserve and perpetuate. The worst bearable government is better than no government. No institution which is not in itself, or general consequences, in harmony with the spirit and teachings of the Saviour, can of itself be morally right or politically wise. Upon these assumptions we propose to construct our argument.

The vindication of slavery commences with the inference that it must have been divinely instituted, because coeval with the history of man, but as we can never know why, how, or when it originated, the original condition of society and its social needs, nor what scheme and purposes of Providence its sufferance may have been designed to answer, we cannot legitimately infer the divine approval of our institution from the fact of its existence in a remote age. Personal strife and offensive warfare have existed from the time of Cain, but we cannot infer divine approval. Whilst it is perfectly consistent with God's revealed design of human probation, that the evil which men do as free agents may be over-ruled for good, it is essential to the divine plan that man has the liberty to do wrong, and to infer from the existence of an institution or usage, the divine approval would be to deny man's probationary character, to make the slave trade, and the forcing of opium on the Chinese, virtuous acts.

God allowed the lust for power and wealth to take this particular direction, no doubt He will overrule them for the extension of christianity; but it is by no means a logical conclusion that He approved of the motive power, in itself wicked. Had the apostolic successors, instead of engaging men in angry controversy, or arraying them on the battle field with regard to idle dogmas, with which the happiness of mankind had absolutely no concern, simply obeyed the divine injunction "go and teach all nations," would not christianity have progressed as far under the mild influence of Missionary effort, as it has through the intermediate agency of the sword, the slave and opium trade? What virtue and reverence for God's commands refused to do, by His eternally fixed laws, he has made the evil passions of men effect. The prophetic curse of Noah has been strongly relied upon to justify the institution, but with as much propriety would the cruelties of the Roman army in fulfilling the predicted destruction of Jerusalem be justified, for they were equally a prophetic curse. Anyhow we think the curse of servitude was directed against the descendant *nations* of Ham and not to the personal bondage of his descendants, because if intended to apply to individual bondage, by far too few have been slaves to the posterity of the brothers to fulfill the prophesy, and in the present temper of the world it is not likely to be ever fulfilled. If designed as a special curse upon the posterity of Ham, as the argument supposes, the descend-

ants of the brothers must have been excluded, but the fact is more of their descendants have been in personal bondage, and therefore slavery could not have been designed as a special discriminative curse upon Ham, without which as well as a general fulfillment, the argument is worthless. Moreover, the prophesy has been fulfilled in the subjugation of Ham's posterity by that of his brothers; decide this matter as we may is unimportant, because we as christian moralists have no more concern in this prophetic curse than in the peculiar usages of the Jews under their institutions, unless you make christianity unnecessary and superrogatory, for it now is our rule of conduct. Polygamy was allowed, the Israelites were ordered to overrun idolatrous nations, where does christianity license abstract slavery? Where polygamy? Where to overrun the idolatrous nations of Africa with fire and sword? The biblical argument most triumphantly urged is the omission of St. Paul to condemn Roman and Grecian slavery, and it is attempted to draw odium upon the objection to this negative argument by charging that it casts an imputation of fear and dishonesty upon the virtuous and heroic Paul; but if we destroy the argument, this damaging charge is repelled.

In his probationary state man is at liberty to create the circumstances or conditions which suits particular forms of government, accordingly we find such to be the fact, and that the kind of government is ever the result of the intellectual and moral condition of the people. At the advent the Roman government was tyrannical and oppressive, but under existing circumstances it was the best to be had, as the most intolerable national calamity is no government, the Roman government, bad as it was, was allowed to stand unrebuked, though surely in itself disapproved by the Saviour. When Paul entered upon his mission he found Rome a nation of soldiers and slaves. Slavery an incorporated political institution, part and parcel of a vicious body politic, the result of war which created the necessity for agricultural labor and furnished in its prisoners, whom it saved from butchery on the battle field, the necessary subjects, and could not have been suddenly and coercively abolished without the worst political evil—anarchy; hence, Paul wisely meddled with neither, he was satisfied with planting such principles the adoption of which must make any form of government answer the ends of government, and take from slavery all the virulence of injustice and oppression.

We must keep in view that Paul was the apostle of him who declared that his "Kingdom was not of this world," that he came not a political but religious reformer to preach peace on earth and good will to men, to plant in christianity the great corrective of all moral evil; was another Paul to appear in the South now, a christian missionary as wise and good a man as he, can it be imagined that he would commence the work in criminating the masters, or preaching down an institution, greatly valued and cherished, in the *Southern mind* no wrong identified with their prosperity and essential to their habits of social life? No, he would perceive that it would be worse than useless, that he would not be listened to, that abolition would do incalculable mischief, derange the whole social structure, seriously injure masters and slaves. Why should Paul have meddled with a political institution which his precepts could not reach until the evil heart of Rome became subject to christianity? Why talk of honor and injustice to a man who has no sense of either? Why do that which must defeat the object of his high mission, and aggravate the evils of the time? Did Paul sympathize with Roman barbarity exhibited in the treatment of slaves, in gladiating, wild beast fights, or the triumphant processions in which the unhappy victims of war were exposed to the most unnecessary cruel distress? Was Nero's government to his taste? Yet he meddled not specifically with them. Because Paul did not condemn despotism, must we on such authority advocate tyranny? But was there not another cause for Paul's silence, in the truth, that there, as with us now, the sin of slavery was not in the fact of its existence, but in its abuses, and refraining from all effort to remove the condition the result of human conduct, which made the institution a social necessity? Paul displayed his political sagacity when he told his disciples to give their slaves "that which was just and equal," for without exciting political jealousy, or alarm for slave property, he aimed the deadliest blow at the institution, actually initiated its downfall, for the services of bondsmen have no advantages over freemen if there was a fair remuneration and no unreasonable exactions, this is the revelation of experience in our country. Let the principles of Christianity furnish the basis for a servile code and servile treatment, and slavery must die out for the simple reason that there would be no advantage in cheapness of labor nor any convenience to counterbalance the inherent evils,

anxieties and vexations of slavery. Like despotism, slavery was only tolerated because of the wickedness of men. Did christianity prevail universally, tyranny, war and slavery would be impossibilities. Now it is easy to perceive that the same reasons may have operated on Paul without his omission to denounce slavery, implicating in the slightest degree his wisdom, honesty or courage. Had he like some of our clergy turned aside from his true vocation, turned abolitionist, christianity would have been poorly advanced. But with his fearless nature, untiring zeal, simple but powerful eloquence, would have excited servile war, given to fanaticism a very carnival, opened the flood-gates of misery upon Rome. No, he knew the source of all moral evil and its remedy. Accordingly, before the sway of christianity, slavery disappeared without social disorganization.

The virtuous and wise course of Paul in the case of Onesimus has been pressed into the service to sustain a bad cause, when in truth it was impossible for a man of his high grade of virtue and wisdom, no matter how much he deprecated the Roman institution, to have acted differently. The highest duty of christian citizenship is to obey the laws of your country, for disobedience strikes directly at the heart of social organization, tends to anarchy, the most deplorable of all human conditions. Paul had nothing to do in instituting and had no controling power over it, but by violating the laws in regard to it no one could estimate the damage he would do his high mission and to the community, his influence over Philemon and other slave owners must have gone. What would the enemies of christianity have desired more than to be enabled to cast the odium of a violator of the laws upon its great apostle? Bad laws must be endured till they can be removed without disorganizing society, the greatest of all possible evils, the laws must remain until they can safely be removed. Slavery was a legalized institution, slaves were private property held under the same title as Paul held his house, under the law of the land, and the same principle, breaking down the law, carried out, defrauding Philemon, would have taken away Paul's house. The individual benefit to Onesimus would have been far more than counterbalanced by the injury to his mission and to the community at large, showing that obedience to the law, even if founded in wrong, is virtuous and wise, and Paul will stand forever upon the sacred page the

brightest model of a consistent christian citizen. When a benevolent Pennsylvanian assists his Maryland neighbor in recovering his fugitive are we to infer his advocacy of slavery? Certainly not, only that he is a good citizen and obeys the laws of his country, not allowing his individual feelings to turn him from his sacred duty to his Government. Had Paul been instrumental in removing Onesimus beyond the reach of his master, in the sight of man and God, he would have been virtually a thief, false to his friend a social disorganizer, an enemy to mankind. Had Paul's example been followed, slavery would have been much nearer its end. Had benevolent men simply obeyed the laws and interceded for lenity, the kindest neighborly feelings would have been cultivated, a far greater influence exerted over Southern sentiment; silently, quietly, inoffensively doing its work. Such conduct would have exhibited the same results now seen in Maryland, once thoroughly a slave state, now probably verging to a free state. The subject, without gendering bitterness, would have been freely discussed, the master secure in his property would have had no occasion for severe stringency of discipline, the slave, unseduced, seeing no chance of escape, would have been cheerful and contented, far happier than now, a freezing outcast in Canada. Nor would we now have the sorrow and mortification to see demagogueism making slavery a pretext as the best cloak for ambition, preying upon the vitals of the Republic.

Can the advocate for abstract slavery consistently contend for the inalienable rights of man, for human freedom? Unless he can prove the negro alien from the human family, or can show some specific divine precept justifying African bondage, the conclusion is palpable that wherever a community, white or black, possessing the power, it may with equal authority morally reduce to personal bondage *white* or colored members of the human family. If the ground of social necessity is assumed, are we not bound to prove that we may rightfully create the circumstances which make the social necessity, or are not called upon to use every means for their correction? Do we not virtually create these circumstances when we perpetuate them by failing to use means for their removal?

If Paul's authority will justify abstract slavery, then it must apply throughout all mankind, for the Roman and Grecian slaves were white. It must be right and proper for Russia to reduce all her prisoners of war to personal bondage, sell them,

generals and all, with their children's children, to the highest bidder. Is South Carolina in her wildest ultraism prepared for such a doctrine?

We contend, therefore, that there is no scripture authority for abstract slavery. Let us test the validity of its claims by the light of reason, based on an instinctive sense of justice and of right and wrong. It is an incontrovertible proposition, a self-evident truth, that there can be but one source, the Almighty, of human rights, and that all men enjoy naturally an equality of right, and as justice is simply a due regard to the rights of others, we further deduce the conclusion that abstract slavery is morally wrong. Much time and learned labor by the clergy have been devoted, occasioned by party objects, the perils of the country, or lust for gain, to establish for the institution the authority of Holy Writ, and men, anxious to escape from duties which result from an opposite view, have greedily availed of the effort. But whoever undertakes to prove a divine right for abstract slavery is involved in the hopeless task of proving that slavery, *per se*, is in its tendencies, influences and general consequences promotive of the peace, prosperity and happiness of mankind, for such is the plain design of Christianity. To assert that any institution at variance with this design, can be approved of by its great founder, implicates divine consistency. But undeniable facts, and the general sentiment of mankind, declare slavery evil and only evil, without one redeeming feature.

In discussing this subject, reason requires us to regard it not as slavery would be in rigid subjection to christian principle, but as it actually exists, an admitted wrong to the black, hurtful to the white man and to national prosperity. Christianity was designed to preside over all the practical details of life, to rule our natural propensities and sweeten human intercourse. Is it conceivable, by an unbiassed mind, that the benevolent Redeemer, or an inspired man of God, who taught so impressively the great lessons of justice and kindness, could approve of a Roman institution so teeming with injustice, abuse and cruelty? American slavery being an unnatural condition, grating to our natural feelings of benevolence, revolting to our moral sense of right and wrong, necessarily liable to the greatest abuse, involving the violation of human rights, only tolerated because a necessity presupposes something wrong in the social structure, vicious, damaging to individuals and society,

therefore the business of christianity to correct. We think the clergy would have been far more appropriately employed in pointing out this something wrong and its corrective, than in fortifying men in their assumed right to oppress their fellow-man and perpetuate a "great social, moral and political evil." For a christian to be conservative is well, but to be consistent is surely far better. With political institutions, conceding to them every privilege common to citizens, we contend that *professionally* the clergy have nothing to do, for their business is not to distract and embitter. But with the purity of public sentiment they have every thing to do. Yet where conventions, presbyteries and conferences yearly meet, we see, in the daily journals, notices shocking virtuous and noble sentiment. We see a noble state once renowned for good and great men, throughout whose every valley and from whose every hill-top freedom pitched her highest note of remonstrance, most earnestly plead for the inalienable rights of man, degenerate into a great slave mart. Slaves having become a regular staple, yielding millions to her people, who, reposing upon an assumed abstract right, pursue with marvelously unruffled equanimity the business of perpetuating their country's curse! In the bewilderment caused by contending minds, Pilate sarcastically asked the Saviour, "what is truth?" In the perplexity upon this subject, produced by contending divines, the gross perversion of christian precept, and the palpable inconsistency between profession and practice, some minion of despotism might well sneeringly ask a boastful American citizen, what are "the inalienable rights of man," what justice, what is duty? If in itself a wise and virtuous institution, why has every community where African slavery ever existed, opposing a resistless barrier to even wealth—wont to ride triumphantly over every other obstacle to social position—affixed an indelible stigma upon professional slave dealing? Why, in the convention called to frame the Constitution, did the southern orators, *to a man*, exhaust opprobrious epithets in denouncing it a great moral and political wrong? Do moral principles, as eternal as God from whom they came, authoritative in one age, lose all authority in another? Why did Virginia, when deeding away her North-western territory stipulate that *there* slavery should never exist? Why did Kentucky's great statesman so vehemently oppose its territorial extension? Why did Presidents Washington, Jefferson and Madison so

strongly reprobate it? Madison, with a sensitiveness truly remarkable and expressive of his abhorrence, protesting against the term "slaves" being even named in the Constitution, substituting for slaves the words "held to bondage," because he would not have recognized in an instrument so sacred to freedom and designed to be as enduring as time, the right of property in man. Jefferson declaring that "there was not one attribute of God in sympathy with negro slavery." Why, throughout all mankind, save where king cotton sways, has it the unqualified reprobation of the wise and good? May human sentiment restrain and must God's eternal precepts truckle to mammon? Yet men, assuming to represent the great Redeemer, teach us from the pulpit, that African slavery is a heaven appointed institution, eternally basking in the ever vivifying smiles of christianity?

An essay purporting to develop the virtue and beauties of slavery would be an original idea, truly a curiosity, and we challenge its production. If the institution in itself is a good one, so promotive of mutual prosperity, upon the principle that we are bound to do good to all men, it is sinful to restrict slavery to the South. We should rivet the shackles upon the slave the world over, prohibit all emancipation, re-open the slave trade, and let all of our people, rich and poor, enjoy all the blessings of this universally beneficient institution!

But before coming to a practical decision, ask Maryland and Virginia why their fields are worn out, neglected wastes, the farms depreciated, and why it is reasonable to suppose—slavery extinct—that comparing with adjoining states, in a few years real estate would be quadrupled.

Although we deny abstract slavery all support from the light of reason and holy writ, we distinctly assert, apart from its abuses and neglect, to abate and remove it—in which the sin consists—American slavery is negatively a wise, benevolent institution, because it temporarily prevents incalculable greater mischief and misery.

The abolitionist who denies slavery justifiable under all circumstances, to be consistent, should clamor for the conversion of every Monarchy into a Republic, for as all human rights proceed from the one great source and are equally imperative, political can only differ from personal slavery in the degree of infringement, and if the one is morally wrong, under all circumstances, so must the other be. Surely he must be a

wild, fanatical republican who would make Russia a Republic! A conscientious man, unaccustomed to analyze the character of acts with regard to motives, circumstances and consequences, habituated implicitly to obey precept in the letter, regardless of its spirit, object, or practical bearings, may easily and innocently carry out his principles mischievously.

The character and extent of the authority of moral precepts to be justly estimated, must be viewed in reference to their object and reasonable limitation. Though moral principles are fixed in character, and absolute in authority, the character of the acts to which they apply, under circumstances, so change, as to entirely evade their jurisdiction. A lie is always an untruth, but an untruth is not always a lie. Stealing is taking the property of another, but taking the property of another is not always stealing, for both these acts may occur under circumstances where the criminal intent, essential to make the acts, lying and stealing, were not present. We cannot conceive of God commanding the observance of truth, and also privileging falsehood; therefore, consistency must be a divine attribute. As all divine commands come from the same source, they must be equally imperative, of course no precept can take precedence of another, they mutually limit each other's range. Where the authority of one precept conflicts with the authority of another, there its power must end, for this is the requirement of divine consistency, otherwise, obedience to the one would be disobedience to the other, and there must be inextricable ethical confusion.

Parental obedience is exacted, but when a son is ordered to steal, the authority of the precept requiring parental obedience, must cease, because it conflicts with the command "Thou shall not steal." An infuriated man pursues a parent with murderous intent to a son's house, who denies his presence, yet without the sin of a lie, for the son, if he betrayed his father's retreat to an assassin, would not obey the command to "honor his father," nor would he be loving his neighbor as himself if he facilitated an enraged man in becoming a murderer. By aiding the man, he would practically and virtually become, *particeps criminis*, a violator of the law. So, disregarding this principle, would lead to complicated disobedience. We are directed to honor the king, to obey rulers, but surely we are not required to obey the wicked laws of corrupt rulers, when avoidable, for that would be to violate other precepts, un-

resistingly to yield to the most grinding oppressor, and the object of the government, the benefited of the governed, be defeated.

We are told to give to him that asketh, but whenever an unworthy object, upon the plea of such precept, makes a demand, we may innocently refuse, otherwise, a man would be encouraging indolence and vice, reduce his family to extreme poverty, and become obnoxious to the charge of being "worse than an infidel." You may deceive, innocently, for their own good, a child, an insane, sick, or drunken man, which shows that the moral wrong of an untruth, is not in the act but in the criminal intent. Hence, God in giving a probationary existence, has given us a discretion and an understanding to discriminate circumstances, and determine the true character of acts. Now let us apply the principle here developed, to American slavery, imposed upon us by the reckless cupidity of a former generation, grown into a social necessity, existing under circumstances limiting the range of precepts which otherwise make slavery morally wrong. If abstract slavery is wrong simply because it violates certain moral precepts, then, if circumstances exist, suspending, through divine consistency, such precepts, their object is defeated, the sin of slavery is destroyed, and the condemnatory precepts cannot apply, because it is a condition removed beyond their jurisdiction by the conflicting range of other precepts equally authoritative. That American slavery does exist under circumstances which will not admit of the application of the precepts condemnatory of abstract slavery, is perfectly plain, for immediate general emancipation would ruin master and slave, disorganize society, embarrass the commercial prosperity of the world, and produce widespread misery. In fact, the abolitionist who has a correct view of this subject, and persists in his mad course from political or other motives, is guilty of divine disobedience and unmitigated cruelty.

But from false views of the true relations of master and slave, men have extended a right from its very nature, co-extensive only with necessity over the whole man, soul and body, made him personal property, well nigh practically confounded him with his brute. It would seem important then, that the conduct of masters be regulated by sound moral and political principles, there exist a clear, precise idea of the nature and full extent of the right, under which a man is held in bondage. Whence comes the right of human bondage? If not derived

from revelation, nor the light of nature; if it exists, it must come from social necessity. But the power to give, implies the actual possession of the gift. The law cannot impart that which it has not. Now has any community morally the right in possession, which it may impart to individuals of unlimited, unconditional bondage?

Unquestionably man was designed for social life, this necessarily implies the right to construct and perpetuate, from this inherent right is derived the discretionary power of communities to restrict privileges, control human conduct whenever required by human weal, hence the authority to punish crime, confine the lunatic, and hold man in personal or political bondage; whilst society holds this authority by divine right it is plainly a limited authority; divine consistency requires it to be exercised in subordination to the great moral precepts designed for the government of all mankind, and of course cannot be extended beyond the social necessity, can give no right of personal property, implying exclusive unlimited control, as a possessor's right in his horse. We can only know God's will through his absolute commands and the voice of his institutions. Having instituted society wherever its social needs make it necessary, he instituted political or social slavery, but no where has he commanded us, nor can the social exigency requiring it exist, to make chattels of our negroes, and we deny all right of such property in man as allowed a Roman irresponsibly to throw his living chattels into his fish pond.

Men should be made to realize by squaring the subject before the mind's eye, bringing it home to their sense of what is due between man and man, to their own hearts, and testing it by the divine standard of right and wrong, that an absolute unrestricted right of property in man as in a mule, can consistently, neither morally nor politically exist, because man has a far higher clearly discriminated rank in the divine economy, is divinely placed upon an equality of natural right with his fellow man—an equality which cannot be even disturbed but by a paramount social necessity, because man has rights to which the brute has no claim, and over which the law of necessity, subordinate to divine precept, the only authority abrogating human rights, can have, in its necessarily limited authority, no jurisdiction. God the creator, original and sole proprietor, has only given away man's natural rights as far as essential to satisfy the law of social necessity. Nor has the slave, like the

soldier or sailor, contracted to surrender his natural and legal rights. Therefore to take possession of his body and rights, beyond this law of necessity, is simply usurpation. So long as a slave continues in a country where the social necessity exists, the slave cannot rightfully complain of his position, and should he in personal difficulty kill his master, he may be rightfully hanged, because the good of the community as well as the happiness of the slave exacts it, but should it occur in a foreign country, the same man stands upon an equality of right, and the crime is precisely of the same grade as if occurring between two masters in Maryland, and social necessity does not require his execution. Every *citizen* is bound by an implied contract to obey the laws of his country, but the slave is no *citizen*, there was no implied contract between him and the government which required him to be hanged for the murder of his master in self defence; therefore, apart from social necessity, to hang him for manslaughter, would be simply murder. If this proposition is sound, there can be no *inherent natural* right of man in man; therefore it is purely the creature of circumstances, a political or social right for the mutual benefit of master and slave, coeval with, and limited by this law. In morality, the slave is entitled to every right and privilege of mankind—not rightfully restricted by this law of necessity. All the obligations which masters recognize as due to each other are, with this qualification, in full force as regards the slave, and the commands to do justly, show mercy, and others, with all their solemn sanctions, preside over the relations of master and slave.

Does this great imperious law of necessity in one greedy gulp swallow up all the divinely given natural rights of man? How much the responsibility of the master and the future ameliorated condition of the slaves are involved in the answer. Is not the slave's right to enjoy in his own private mode of life the earnings of his own toil, his natural authority over his domestic and religious relations, untouched by this law? If there is no special, directly nor mediately, revealed divine right to claim *unlimited* control over the person, time, will and earnings of a slave for his own exclusive benefit, responsibility to God and a due respect for the opinions of mankind require every man to show some rational foundation for the assumption, for it does seem perfectly plain that if abstract slavery has no rightful existence, that the right to hold man in personal bondage

springs solely from the ignorance and deteriorated condition of the black and the absence of a proper public sentiment making the social law of necessity with which the right must be coeval and coextensive, that whilst a certain degree of slavery under certain circumstances may virtuously exist, unless every right of manhood is swept away, there must be a limit beyond which, in morality, it cannot extend.

If the slave can be allowed a fair remuneration with the ordinary privileges of free labor, you are morally bound to yield them, for there the right of master ends, go beyond and the legitimate master is merged in the petty tyrant, or justice, mercy and human rights have no foundation either in nature, reason nor revelation. In truth the right to hold the negro in bondage has no other foundation than the right to confine the insane, and as we feel bound to confine and take care of the lunatic for his own comfort and safety, as well as for that of the community, and when the necessity for restraint ceases to restore him to all the rights of manhood, the same must be our duty to the negro.

In defence of the institution, an argument is drawn from the law of races, and it is decided that the African, though human, belongs to an inferior race, then the inference is very complacently drawn that he may rightfully become the slave of a superior race. That there are grades of intellect and peculiar adaptations to inhabit certain zones of the earth which distinctly mark a variety of races, and that certain races are less capable of self government is admitted, but it is not conceded in this admission that there exists any justification for personal slavery, because such a conclusion would be gratuitous, there not being the slightest divine authority, the sole foundation of human conduct, either in revelation or nature. We must assume that infinite wisdom ever adapts means to its end. When the horse was designed for the servitude of man, he was so constituted, there was perfect harmony between his nature and the end. Hence, under all circumstances, he is found in that natural relation; not so with the negro, because he is under the influence of laws common to human nature which makes the relation ever jarring.

Indolence and luxurious ease, throwing out of exercise those faculties essential to the supremacy of the more highly endowed race, emasculate man's vigor, unfit him for governing his inferior fellow-man, the last from his nature is constantly dis-

posed to rebel and throw off the yoke. For the fact of slavery does not reverse the laws of nature, a sense of wrong *must* ever excite discontent or resentment, the one will naturally seek its gratification in revenge, the other in some change of condition. Unless you can rescind or reverse the laws of human nature the oppressed will fly from bondage and human nature will sympathize with the wretched fugitive. Hence abolitionism, so long as the liberty of the press and freedom of speech are constitutional privileges, eternal discontent, wranglings and servile war, legislate as you may, are *inevitable*. Again, it is admitted that the white race cannot healthfully exist in climates where the negro flourishes. Here we have distinct natural laws antagonistic to the theory, surely defeating the assumed design of omnipotence, which the idea of infinite wisdom precludes. But when two races come in contact whose nature forbids political amalgamation, just as two families cannot live harmoniously under the same roof, one must govern, and nature and reason give supremacy to the superior race. Clearly then, from a variation in the human family there cannot be legitimately inferred the design that one race should appropriate the other for its own exclusive convenience, the design obviously was that each should occupy its appropriate zone. The cupidity of man having broken in upon the harmony of nature, I grant a justifying necessity for the political subjection of the inferior race is the result. But though rightfully kept in a subordinate station, the more gifted race is not released from the obligation to govern by the principles designed for the common advantage of mankind. The white race have all the power and can, in a corporate capacity, take as good care of the negro, keep him under as wholesome discipline, as if subject to irresponsible individual tyranny. Disfranchise him of every political privilege, every right he cannot be safely trusted with, but do not degrade his manhood to the level of a mule. It is common to justify negro slavery by the consideration that the slaves are far better off than their parents in Africa, but although this consideration may weigh with those disposed to vindicate the slave trade, it can have no bearing upon the question before us. If a man saves the life of a fellow-man he derives no right of property in him or his descendants.

If a man descended from Irish parentage is far better off in America than if he had been born in Ireland, does that give any right to an American community to make a slave of him?

Neither our responsibilities nor moral relations are an inheritance, but spring immediately from our individuality. A virtuous loyal citizen is never hanged for the treason of his father, nor does a murderer escape the gallows because his father was an eminently good man. It is said, to reconcile anti-slavery men, that the slave is far better off than the freed negro. As a general fact it may be true under existing circumstances, but a wise legislation is comprehensive in its views, and prospective in its policy. We expect existing circumstances will be altered and we look to the evils probable to result to both races from a continuance of the institution. Such are the instincts of our nature with which personal slavery conflicts that a man must be either brutally stultified or highly christianized for the perfection of the slave. One condition will prevent his feeling, and the other reconcile him to the hardships of his condition, but as the intermediate class will be ever far greater than the extreme, to expect a contented and passively submissive slave population is all in vain. An anxiety to put an end to a perilous political strife influencing some, and a lust for power and gold, over-riding reason, experience, and morality, controlling others, it has been boldly denied that the institution is "a great social political and moral evil." Such we will ask, what is American slavery? And leave the settlement of the question to the answer honestly given: American slavery, admitted to be a blight on the prosperity of every community where it has ever existed, holds forcible possession of man for man's convenience and pecuniary benefit, violates all the inalienable rights of man, subjects him to the universally admitted deteriorating effects of personal bondage, usurps entire control over his will, his person, his labor, his domestic relations, his conscience; presides over his whole existence, his irresponsible judge, jury and executioner; in fact, leaves him scarcely one vestige of humanity except his naked body; it demoralizes and deteriorates the white race, tending to the growth of indolence, and to destroy self dependence, producing a vicious pride, averse to corporal labor, violating most injuriously the divine law which decrees that "man shall eat his bread in the sweat of his brow;" it requires an increasingly severe servile code, practically abrogates the natural relations of husband and wife, parents and children, it gives increasing domestic anxiety and alarm, leads to the most frightful crimes, suspending the ordinary course of justice by lynch law, it allows the abscond-

ing slave to be hunted by blood hounds through swamps, and if found, in obedience to the most powerful instincts of his nature, a love of freedom and resistance to abuse, opposing arrest, to be legally shot down; it constantly gives rise to most bitter political strife, threatens the ruin of the Republic and by its inherent abuses cries to Heaven for vengeance. Is this fancy, or is it fact? All the great and good men of the early days of the Republic, North and South were deluded or gave a false testimony, all the observation and experience of impartial men since are deceptive, all the numerous statements and advertisements in the southern journals of the day, are false or the picture is true to life. Yet such is the institution which christian teachers will labor to show is authorised by christianity *irrespective* of necessity not to be meddled with. Circumstances having forced the South into a false position, certainly without a due regard to the master's rights and prosperity, to all circumstances and consequences to both races, coercively and suddenly to root out slavery would not be more unwise and cruel than repugnant to the teachings and spirit of christianity which we invoke for its removal. But whilst I defend the existing institution with its abuses as a necessary evil in preference to a general emancipation, involving far greater mischief, it cannot be fairly inferred that I advocate the institution as right in itself. It is only a choice of evils. As the circumstances which legitimate slavery are wrong and hurtful, its consequences hostile to individual and national prosperity, surely the obligation rests upon us as responsible beings, divinely ordered to do good to all men, to alter this unnatural condition. If our premises are just and our reasoning sound, slavery, in the abstract, is utterly unauthorised. American slavery a great moral, social and political evil, having no other foundation than sheer necessity, and our plain duty must be not to recognize it otherwise, still not to interfere with a legalized institution, unless with a right spirit, in a proper way to point out its true character, with its abuses, mitigate its hardships, change, as far as possible, the condition which makes it a necessity, and remove the negro beyond their reach, by encouraging colonization, emigration and a general diffusion through the world.

We cannot regard with indifference any legislation impeding diffusion, and must condemn the course which prohibits the poor freed negro a home in any state. You find a race of un-

fortunate men appealing from their degradation and oppression to your humanity and magnanimity, but you heed not their petitions. As benevolently would you refuse the shipwrecked mariner thrown upon your coast a home? Surely neither philanthropy nor patriotism are elements of such abolitionism. We believe an irresistible argument, based on the natural right of mankind, as the divinely appointed tenants in common of the earth, and a fair construction of the spirit of the constitution, can establish the freedman's natural and political right to emigrate into any part of his native land. If one state has the moral and political right to banish, and others in their sovereignty have the same to repel; banished from one state, repelled from another, the highway is the only resort for a living, at the same time the road to the gallows! Why not get rid of the trouble in a more summary humane way, decree that emancipation and decapitation go hand in hand! Abolitionism is wont to satisfy her shallow philanthropy with listening to exaggerated accounts of negro oppression, idle sympathy, and vindictive vituperation of the South. It offers no aid in counsel or money, and would, as in Jamaica, set free to bring greater ruin upon the slave; was it for such conduct that God gave an understanding to direct the feelings of the heart?

Obviously it is folly to point out an evil unless we can propose a remedy for the evil itself, or to counteract its tendencies. It is useless to attempt any social or political changes, unsupported by public sentiment. Let all the literary machinery of the country be put in requisition. Let our religious periodicals, our reviews, our newspapers, be thrown open for discussion in a *right* spirit, let a calm appeal be made to the understanding, patriotism and philanthropy of our people, thus create a favorable public sentiment and upon that erect your plans. We suggest diffusion by colonization and emigration, and also we urge an ameliorated slavery. That four millions of negroes by colonization, assisted by the wisest means of diffusion can be so reduced as to entirely do away with slavery in every form and degree, to human vision, seems impracticable, nor is it essential to consistency with moral and political principles; for man cannot exceed his ability, and to a certain degree we have an absolute necessity to deal with. But if the institution is restrained within manageable bounds, the slave fairly requited, protected from wrong, elevated by moral culture, his personal bondage converted into political control by

becoming the property of the state, the fullest claims of justice and humanity will be satisfied. The views presented suggest the immediate institution of a wise, benevolent, remedial code, as well to relieve present abuses as to co-operate with schemes for diffusion and removal by emigration and the great radical remedy of colonization, also that a society under its patronage be formed in each southern state which shall apply to the general government for a portion of territory on the South-West border of Texas, and at the same time for the proceeds of the sales from public lands so long as necessary, and that such colony shall be exclusively under the management of the state societies till territoral government becomes necessary. The present mode of colonizing contends with difficulties which the proposed plan will materially lessen.

The facilities of transporting, temporarily supporting, defending and managing emigrants, will be materially increased without the same jeopardy of life from climate, or demands for money. The necessity of crossing the ocean, of residing in a remote, unhealthy, savage country, will no longer exist, restraining emigration. Many conscientious men, seeing their slave's condition likely to be bettered, will no longer withhold emancipation. The plea so often opposed to manumission that the free black is a "nuisance" must cease, because a distant home is provided for him. The prospect of a successful result will animate zealous effort in many a desponding, inactive mind. Such a wide field for philanthropic effort thrown open, cannot fail, in this time of religious enterprise, unfurling as it is the banner of christianity before the most remote and inaccessible people, to invite labor to a field of benevolence worthy of the age. All reasonable, honest abolitionists, will divert their energies from the present mischievous channels to the promotion of such a scheme.

With such an enterprise fairly under way, all of that vast and influential class of timid, lukewarm, time-serving friends to emancipation must embrace this scheme. Such must be the progress of public sentiment, soon no respectable man, valuing public opinion, will have the hardihood to vindicate slavery upon its own merits. The impression seems general that to elevate the slave by education and christianity will unfit him for slavery, that he will acquire a knowledge of his rights, and aims above his condition, which will make him discontented and less controllable. Under the proposed plan this revolting

objection, springing from such a sad necessity, will no longer exist. Whenever a community leaves a class, distinct by its caste, in utter neglect, without elementary education and religious instruction, under a depressing sense of inferiority and degradation, exposed to all the unrestrained influences of ignorance, idleness and alcohol, and then complains of it as a nuisance, that community only writes its own sentence of condemnation, for that community has the power of legislation, with the moral influence to control the causes of negro worthlessness, and to make the result of their own neglect a reason for oppression and abuse, is unjust in the extreme. Let wise, benevolent restrictions be put on the domestic slave trade and all be removed from emancipation. Enact that all children born after a certain time shall be registered and serve for twenty years to compensate for raising, from that age let them be allowed fair wages, to be collected and invested by the state till forty years of age, then let them take their wages and such of their family as they can buy and emigrate, or colonize, at their option. Will such a law do injustice to any man?

If there exists an objector who refuses to allow his slaves a fair remuneration, he may be great, powerful, accomplished and chivalrous, but he must stand before his God as neither patriotic, just, honest nor merciful. In furtherance of this plan, let it be enacted that the state issue bonds to a moderate amount, redeemable in thirty years. With these bonds, as far as they will go, let all slaves in the settlement of estates or otherwise for sale, the state being a preferred purchaser, be purchased at a fair valuation, becoming the property of the state, let them be hired out as agricultural laborers till they pay for themselves, then let them colonize, receiving from the society a cabin and twenty acres of land, or remain as the property of the state, hired out as before, but in the enjoyment of their own earnings, till it suits to colonize. Under this system the planter would save his capital to improve his estates, get rid of the unpleasantness and anxieties incident to slavery. The slave would be elevated in the scale of being, advanced to a state more favorable to emancipation. He would be relieved from the depression, ignominy and abuse of personal bondage. As his wages increased he would have an increasing self-respect and interest in good behavior, become actually a police to guard servile insurrection. In the meantime the state would be gradually releasing herself from an incubus, and a generous

sentiment, recognizing the African as entitled to all the privileges of mankind, would be cultivated, having a favorable effect upon the minds of the people towards emancipation. Upon the proposed plan of checking, reducing and ultimately removing, time, long time, will be required.

The change from slave to free labor will be so gradual as hardly to be felt. Social life will accommodate itself insensibly to the gradual change, there will be no interruption to the business of the country, and there will not be one pound less of cotton raised. Under the stimulating influence of labor remunerated, of prospective freedom and a high object to save his earnings, negro labor will be far more valuable, and as the gradual demand for labor calls, it will come. We have been gravely told that cotton cannot be cultivated by white labor, but in the face of the facts, that the European emigrant makes the public works at the South, is seen in all its large cities, doing all the laborious drudgery of common laborers; that the British and French soldiers and sailors are able to go through all the severest military duties in India and Africa, and from the fact that all over the world experience shows, that by observing a few simple sanitary rules, especially rigid abstinence from alcohol, that men are enabled, in the hottest and most sickly countries, to preserve their health under a reasonable exposure and moderate labor, we may fairly question the assertion. Can we doubt if black labor could not be had, that white labor, stimulated by high wages, would not come? We know that in the salt mines, coal mines, furnaces, glass works and other occupations, known to produce disease and abridge life, labor is abundant. But assuming black labor necessary, there is no necessity for its being slave labor. But we are told the free blacks will not work, yet the white man will have, if he chooses to make the necessary laws, the same power to make the free blacks work that he has to make the slave blacks labor. But conceding all which the force of the argument requires, where is the divine authority to justify one set of men to coerce others to work unrequited for them, where they cannot labor? Can expediency abrogate divine precept? Will such an argument weigh against a divine command? When the Almighty appointed the growth of cotton for the benefit of mankind, did he place its culture under such conditions as necessarily requires the violation of his distinct command to do justly and love mercy? Surely the Almighty will effect

all the purposes he has designed, and can supply all the wants he has created without abrogating or requiring any one to violate the great precepts or commands given to man, which would implicate his omniscience, omnipotence or wisdom.

Each state can, by legislation, secure any amount of black labor, only make his home comfortable and the manumitted will not care to emigrate, the only difference will be substituting a portion of free black labor, and with the law to control them they can be made to do their duty. Whilst the necessity for a long time to consummate the scheme must save all embarrassment from a sudden withdrawal of slave labor, allowing full time to substitute free labor, it will enable good and just men, conscientiously and consistently to make use of slave labor, and its products so long as the necessity lasts, and it would annihilate abolitionism. To trace results to their causes often requires patient, honest inquiry, and there are hasty, harsh-judging, superficial men, too indolent to think, or men whose limited reach of thought will not admit of easy access to truth, looking at the degraded result of slavery, who regard the negro as "sealed from his nativity the slave of nature and the son of hell," and defiantly asks "is there any hope for raising him above the level of the beast of burden?" But is it just or fair when he has been uncared for by the Legislature, only to punish his offences, neither encouraged nor aided to rise above the degradation where freedom found him, to make the wretched product of slavery justify the institution? That simple emancipation will not elevate the slave, and that the greatest advantage of the proposed plan is only to be found in coming generations, is the dictate of common sense. But then we will have started in the right line of duty, the first great, important step will have been taken in the right direction. There are many who deal in abstractions, and whose sense of right and wrong, and whose philanthropy are fully gratified with mere emancipation, leaving the poor slave to the sure consequences of a fixed law which connects such a condition with misery. But is there a christian obligation to send millions to redeem the foreign heathen and none to bestow thousands on our slavery degraded blacks? Is there patriotism in opposing foreign invasion and none in expelling the domestic enemy? Is there philanthropy in relieving human misery in Ireland and none in raising the black man from degradation and wretchedness?

I implore the good men of the country to make every effort to place the negro under circumstances of *personal* independence and equality, where the ordinary motives which stimulate and develop human excellence may have fair play. Surely human nature must be false to her own laws if we do not find that "as the slave departs the man returns." The same law rules in the brute and in the human family. The sheep, placed under a better climate, extra care and attention, will rise far above his family, but still retain all the distinctive features of the sheep. No doubt whole communities, under the influence of moral and physical causes, have degenerated in different degrees and given the variety to the human family, but man, under all circumstances, is still found to be man, and there is a susceptibility and a tendency under favorable circumstances to rise to his original. We see this law of human nature illustrated in the fact, that after a few generations with us the African becomes much improved, and when transported to Liberia rises still higher in the scale of character.

From all we know of the history of man, he must have been created, civilized, and we claim from revelation and the classification of naturalists a common origin. Whence then, all the variety of savage life? How can this result but from the steady operation for ages of deteriorating moral and physical causes? All the moral events and physical condition throughout creation, seem to result from fixed laws whether for evil or for good. Hence, certain consequences invariably follow a certain conduct. The suspension of certain moral and physical laws produces corresponding changes. Constitutional diseases, parental deficiencies, mental proclivities are transmitted, families morally and physically degenerate, showing that human procreation is in obedience to certain laws which mould the character, physically and morally. Just as the muscular system, within healthful limits, is exercised, is the muscular vigor, so with the nervous system, mental development corresponds with that of the brain. The arm which is tied up withers, the unpracticed brain falls off in vigorous manifestations, the good man by practicing virtue becomes better, the bad man habituated to evil becomes worse, so that it seems possible that man, made after the image of his Creator, may, in the course of ages, drift away from his high original, till the distinctive features of his race are nearly lost.

The colony in New South Wales, settled from the very

sweepings of the jails in England, under improving influences, has become a moral, industrious, prosperous community. Is not the inference legitimate that when removed from unfavorable circumstances and placed under others more favorable to the development of human excellence that the African will rise if not to the ancient standard attributed to his early history, at least to a degree that we may reasonably hope for success in colonizing? Anyhow, conceding his inferiority cannot furnish an argument for enslaving him, for if you admit the negro is a man, you must, if a christian, in his treatment, be governed by divine precepts given to regulate the intercourse among men. Of course if we find that the necessities of his nature make it absolutely necessary to disrobe him of his manhood, there is no alternative, he must be treated as a brute.

Some facts, superficially regarded, may discourage our scheme. The fugitives who have been concentrated in Canada have never advanced in respectability, the slaves freed by John Randolph settled in Ohio, are equally unpromising. We must reflect that these were ignorant slavery degraded men, left *entirely* to their own management, cut off from the improving, elevating influences of social intercourse with their betters. They carried with them all their slave habits, and as no pains were taken to improve them, they were under less favorable circumstances than when they had masters to keep them from drinking and idleness. Now take from any of our cities a colony of the lowest grade of society, leave them to self government, take no pains to improve them, will such a community present a more hopeful prospect? Suppose again three-fourths of the educated, religious, industrious and polished of London were suddenly to emigrate, how long before the condition of that great city would be most deplorable?

Some may object to planting a Colony of negroes in North America, but all future troubles from such a step is speculation, and altogether contingent upon the conduct of their more powerful white neighbors. If our people act wisely, virtuously, firmly and kindly, nothing need be feared, and if they do not the Republic will come to ruin whether or not we have a neighbor negro colony. Anyhow, we have only to follow the promptings of our enlightened conscience, leaving future events to Providence, for remote colonization is impracticable. We must either keep the blacks a debased race, a standing rebuke to our justice and wisdom, a conceded great social evil, an increasing cause of political anxiety, or adopt some practical plan for ultimate removal, or safe reduction at least.

So long as we are not led by a blind impulsive feeling, regardless of the light of reason and experience, as was the case in emancipating the West India slaves, guided by our understanding and an enlightened conscience, we cannot be held responsible for our well intended acts, and any question as to far distant results is a problem, the solution of which must be left to the good providence of God. To say nothing (though surely a most serious consideration) of the hazards to domestic security, peace and happiness, the concentration of a large slave population on our Southern border must be unwise. The strength of a country is its yeomanry, and surely no state will be willing to trust its defences to a yeomanry of slaves. In case of a foreign invasion a dense slave population must ever present a most inviting weak point, as we know it did in the late war with England, when it was contemplated to march black regiments into Georgia. On an estate remote from a large city, with five hundred negroes it would be only reasonable to suppose that there would be many ready to meet any overtures from a wicked fanatic or military spy. We should reflect that this is a *progressive* evil and that it is the tendency, by a universal law for every wrong unchecked by human wisdom, indirectly and violently to cure itself, as illustrated in the French revolution. In every well balanced community from the diversity and degree of talent, energy, form of character or other circumstances, there must naturally exist three strata or classes, the lower occupied by the indigent and laborious, the second by the more thrifty and better provided tradesmen and mechanics, the third by the more highly cultivated and opulent, placed above the drudgery of life. In the laws which thus regulate social life lies the foundation of a great self-adjusting conservative principle. When wealth and its concomitants, indolence and luxurious indulgence, long exist, the class deteriorates, individuals cannot hold their position from loss of power and aggressive competition from below, the middle class gradually works up, because its condition is more favorable to the development of moral and physical excellence, the more energetic from the class below them supplies their places. Without this law of class no prosperous community can last, because there will be no classes from below to refresh and invigorate the effete upper stratum, in which upper stratum, the governing power must reside, for "those who think must govern those who toil."

Now, under the institution of slavery this great law is broken up, there is a very meagre, inadequate middle stratum, and under the operation of natural causes, the upper stratum of

masters will lose its numerical force, its moral and physical ability to govern will cease to be in that healthy proportion to the lower stratum required by subordination and prosperity. Hence it would seem to be the true policy to cultivate a middle class, keep down all unsafe excess in the lower class or stratum. Colonization, aided by the wisest means of diffusion and the most decided prohibition of further importation, will naturally promote the one, introducing every variety of manufacture, worked by white operatives, and prohibiting by law negro mechanics, would advance the other.

Let the African be confined to agricultural labor, let him become the property of the state, introduce a species of serfdom, under which the negro will enjoy a comparatively healthful, safe freedom, an ameliorated slavery, consistent with justice, mercy and the prosperity of all. Surely no thoughtful man who has the courage to look the evil in the face, no man who will not wilfully reject conviction, can deny the dreadful tendency, nay, the inevitable result of slavery cherished as it is. In fifty years there will be sixteen millions of slaves in the South. Will not the anticipation of servile troubles cause men to emigrate, and the same cause prevent them from being replaced by new settlers? Will not an increasing difficulty to control, produce increased severity of police? Natural causes enfeebling the master's moral and physical power, till at last a point is reached beyond which endurance and the capacity to govern must cease? And what then? The South should be stimulated to move in this matter by every noble motive, as well as by the consideration established by statistical facts, daily observation and the opinions of some of her wisest men, that viewed in the double light or aspect of injustice and injury to the black race and of its deteriorating influences, morally and physically, on the masters and their descendants, with all its prospective perils, that slavery is no blessing. Indeed it cannot be too strongly impressed on the Southern mind, that to be politically wise, an institution must be morally right.

Fellow citizens of the South, I pray you listen to the voice of reason and experience, to all of your truly great and good men from the date of our Union. Facts may be carelessly blinked or recklessly disregarded, but their consequences must be met. Be not stupidly passive under the delusion that because great gains may be pouring into your laps, that you are growing rich and powerful in all the essential elements of political prosperity. Reflect that from vast unequal wealth and luxurious living in one class, ignorance, poverty and degradation in the other, for they are equally unfavorable to the growth of moral

worth, certain deplorable consequences are inseparable. True, scattered over wide districts, palatial residences, as in Cuba, may arise, looking with lordly pride over thousands of acres untenanted by a free, enlightened peasantry; true to your delighted eyes may wave rich luxuriance, but unless nature's laws cease from their usual results, your children's children, demoralized and enfeebled by inordinate wealth, extravagance and luxury must reap another harvest, a harvest of trouble and sorrow from the mad policy of cherishing within your bosom a great and growing domestic enemy. Alas,

> "Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey.
> Where wealth accumulates and where men decay."

Your peculiar institution, to give security and peace of mind, will require an extensive standing army. It is the teachings of experience, that neighboring nations constantly find occasion for political broils. What is to give immunity to the two Confederacies from such evils? Will you not have also, exciting causes of bitter party strife? May not the people in the madness, recklessness and wickedness of party spirit, place in the seat of power some ambitious military man, some Julius Cæsar or some "Little Corporal." What then will save your free institutions? Will not the same causes which have produced the late unhappy division of our country exist so long as slavery exists as a cherished institution? Is it possible that in two nations so decidedly opposed upon the subject of slavery, that fanatics and demagogues will be idle? Will not fugitives from the South be still seduced away and protected in the North? Will not this cause the bitterest strife and inevitably lead to war? No man can doubt that widespread misery will result to both sections, but to reason's eye one result sooner or later, is inevitable; with such vast odds of numerical strength, force and wealth against her. A fearful, slumbering, domestic enemy, within her borders, the general sympathy of mankind against her, under a strong sense of the scowl of freedom, justice, mercy and divine displeasure, all the desperation and boasted chivalry of the South cannot save her. Like Napoleon's guard she may bravely resolve never to surrender, but like that gallant band, she must be overwhelmed. And truthful history will record her epitaph, died ingloriously, slain by freedom's sword, fighting against the inalienable rights of man.

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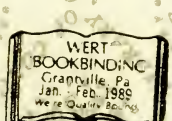
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